BIRTH OF NEO-NOMADISM IN KOREA*

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Recently quite a few scholars and social critics argue that a sort of nomadic culture reappears as communication and transportation technologies advance. Korea is arguably one of the countries which have highly-developed communication and transportation systems in the world. This paper discusses nomadism in the modern (or post-modern) context and analyzes major arguments empirically with the Korean case. A thesis of the rebirth of nomadism is supported by the analysis. The strong propensity to movement and actual mobility was found. The mobility seems to be unfolded in both real and cyber spaces. The strong inclination to change is also confirmed. The absolute majority of Koreans favor change or at least do not resist it. Evidence for the deconstruction of borders is also found. The data indicate that a lot of Koreans are quite liberal in sex life as well as eating patterns. Cyber-tribalism, a part of the nomadism, was also found. The paper concludes that post-modern nomadism became one of the determining factors in culture in Korea.

Key Words: *Nomadic Culture, Mobility, Cyber-space, Cyber-tribalism.*

INTRODUCTION

Travelers in the Korean Peninsula have a fairly good chance to come across *sotdae*[1] and dolmen. The two kinds of relics are known to have different origins. The former belongs to nomadic culture of Northern Asia, while the latter to the sedentary one of Southern Asia. This proves that the different cultures have merged or co-existed for a long time in Korean society.

Nonetheless, arguably from the beginning of the Yi-dynasty, nomadism has been rejected and 'mixing' has been negated. It became sort of holy duty of family members to hold on to the place where their ancestors had lived and protect their 'pure' lineage. Sedentary culture on the basis of agriculture became predominant in Korea.

Modernization, industrialization, and recently informatization, however, have substantially reshaped Korean society. It has been transformed into a nomad-type society. The land is no more a place to

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[1] A pole signifying prayer for a good harvest.

serve gods and ancestors, but an object for financial speculation. Steel-concrete apartments where many people lives, are dwellings for both geographical and social mobility, as much as Ger are for Mongol nomads. Middle-class children go abroad for study at a young age and people are ready to rush forward to any place they expect to get a decent job. People who resist change are not supposed to receive social respect. 'Mobility' and 'change' have become a sort of social norm in Korea.

This paper addresses this intriguing issue of transformation, with the notion of 'nomadism' being empirically analyzed. Has Korean society entered a new era of nomadism?

THEORETICAL REVIEW

It was undisputedly a group of French scholars that turned the attention of the world intellectual community to nomadism or nomadic culture in the last two to three decades.

Jacques Attali (2005), a former Special Advisor to President Mitterrand, has time and again shown his firm confidence that nomadic social order will determine the futures of human kind in the 21st century. He argues that human beings were nomads from the very outset and are now returning to being nomads. He says that sedentariness broke into human history for only a very short period of time. Nomadism has been revived thanks to remarkable developments in communications, which has reinvented the ways of life. He anticipates that a new civilization will appear as a result of a clash between the USA, a present sedentary empire, and the nomadic empire of market, Islam, and democracy. He predicts that the new civilization will be nomadic and at the same time sedentary.

Unlike Attali, Deleuze and Guattari (2001) suggest that nomadism should be an alternative to modernity. They propose it as a strategy to overcome the limitations of modernity and enter a society full of openness, dynamism and creativity. They argue that the Enlightenment Project or modernization process which relied upon the power of reason, released human beings from the tyranny of nature but produced disciplinary discourses and oppressive institutions which suppressed and colonized unconsciousness, body and desire.

Hyeong Chul Chung (2004) succinctly presents the key features of the nomadism they present as follows:

Deleuze and Guattari's nomadism is oriented toward liberation from the images of dogmatic thinking. Their idea of nomadism refuses sedentariness, hierarchical organization and fixed identities. It resists socially coded modes of being and thinking (79).

Their nomadism, which is oriented toward recovery of primordial power and the creative faculty of the body, is based upon a dynamic worldview which affirms uninterrupted fluidity, formation and transformation .... The nomadic society Deleuze and Guattari advocate is not the fascist one that relies on paranoid desire but the revolutionary — that is, decentralized, deterritorialized and deranked — one that relies on schizophrenic desire (97-8).

Is nomadism a principle of social formation as wonderful as Deleuze and Guattari praised? If so, one can hardly understand how so thoroughly nomadism has been marginalized in human history the last few hundred years.

If one is given a variety of choices and conditions with which s/he settles down, will s/he choose a sedentary or nomadic life? Perhaps no one can pinpoint a single choice of nomadism over sedentariness.

It is said that Genghis Khan warned a long time ago, "my empire will perish when my descendants wear silk clothes and live in brick buildings" (recited from Kim, 2005: 315). They say that the epitaph for the late General Tonyukuk of Turk Empire reads that "anyone who continuously moves will survive, on the contrary anyone who lives in a castle is sure to perish" (recited from Kim, 2005: 315). Do not these warnings paradoxically disclose that nomadism is weary while temptations of sedentariness are irresistible? And as the case of Kubilai Khan who founded the Yuan Dynasty displays, their distinguished descendants established a sedentary country in spite of such warning.

How is it in the contemporary world? Attali (2005) argues that nomadism as a principle of social formation is on the verge of renaissance, although nomadism as a mode of economy will become extinct.

Then what are the key features of nomadism? Three dimensions of nomadism can be drawn from recent literature.

First, it is a society of fluidity (Attali, 2005; Lee, 2002; Deleuze and Guattari, 2001). Above all, 'flow' means a lifestyle that favors mobility, whether it may be for work or leisure. The mobility is a journey in a cultural sense, in that people enjoy movement itself, rather than in a functional sense that people simply move from one place to another (Lee, 2002). From the perspective of sedentary people, most of nomads

seem to be forced to move rather than they 'enjoy' movement. However, one may describe they 'enjoy movement' at least in the sense that they 'prefer movement to stay.'

Today, activities in cyberspace should be included in mobility, even though cyber-mobility occurs with a stationary body. Internet use, however, should be considered movement to cyberspace or in cyberspace − in the sense that the mind does not stay in the place or the space where the body is. This is true whether Internet is used for work or leisure.

The flow also means a lifestyle that favors change. Change may be interpreted as temporal movement among different values and norms. Where nomadism prevails, change as well as mobility becomes the social norm. Change takes various forms of acculturation, fashion, innovation and reform. Whichever form it takes, change can be called cultural mobility in the sense that it is a shift between cultural positions.

Philosophically, nomadism often means this sort of inclination toward change. It is a way of life or thinking that continues to negate oneself and search for a new self while not being tied to a specific value system or mode of life (Naver online encyclopedia). *Mille Plateaux* and *Nomadism I, II* are a few books of this kind. In them, nomadism is a journey of thinking that is unbound by established frames.

In short, nomadism may be said to contain the principle of fluidity consisting of mobility and change.

Second, nomadism has the dimension of deconstruction of borders. Borders between sedentary states tend to be formed along natural boundaries such as mountains or big rivers. Otherwise borders are very unstable. The Steppes of Northern or Central Asia, where nomadic tribes spread widely lacks such natural borders. There exist some huge mountains and rivers, but those could not function as borders for the small size tribes. Furthermore, borders were often not worthwhile to maintain for nomadic tribes who moved over long distances periodically.

In short, borders between nomadic tribes are more porous than borders between sedentary countries.

In the same way, there are not clear borders between self and others among people who are almost always connected to the Internet (Everard, 2002). Cyberspace is just like the Steppe where no clear borders exist. In cyberspace, there can hardly be any borders between individuals, as well as states. Cyberspace is 'smooth space', which is the stage for cyborgs that have 'bodies without organs.'

Another phenomenon of deconstruction of borders is multiculturalism. Not all the nomadic societies were so, but religious tolerance was high in the Mongol Empire and the Persian Empire, which were the strongest nomadic states in history, and even in the Timur Empire which was notorious for its atrocities. In particular, Mongol Empire was exceptionally liberal in terms of racial and religious policies (Sugiyama, 1997). Peking was full of religious buildings such as churches, mosques, and temples. Mongolians have their own tradition of shamanism but let any religion be propagated (Weatherford, 2005).

Today, worldwide diffusion of culture easily takes place with the help of advanced information technology. It often results in diffusion of standardized commercial culture, thereby dismantling traditional culture, so called McDonaldization, but not always so. Information technology such as satellites and the Internet enables minority peoples to maintain and even reinforce their own identity.

In other words, a variety of cultures may flourish in cyberspace. Although Westerners, English-using people in particular, still prevail, multiculturalism will be the norm before long in cyberspace.

The third dimension of nomadism is decentralization. Most nomadic societies in history had a decentralized political structure. Nomadic societies often functioned often as a relatively small unit such as clan or tribe, and were highly decentralized even when they formed an empire such as the Mongol Empire (Weatherford, 2005).

Contemporary society supported by information technology also displays a decentralized structure. Marshall McLuhan already described the feature with the notion of 'tribe' in the 1960s. He argues that 'tribe' is being revived as electronic media revitalize tactual as well as acoustic senses. Modern printing, he asserts, has bound human beings to the visual sense, and thereby the senses of human beings have been separated. They cannot but become unified and inclusive when new media appear that go beyond printing. He argues that the telegraph was an extension of the central nervous system, and satellite telecommunication approaches extension of consciousness. McLuhan deduced the rebirth of tribes from the extension of senses. According to him, people kept well-balanced use of their senses in tribal societies. In other words, human beings recover the sensitivity and the thinking of the pre-letter age, and human relations become more fluid and interactive (McLuhan and Powers, 2005).

Michel Maffesoli (1997) who was influenced by McLuhan even suggests that tribalism is the feature of post-modern society. Groups of

people we join are, according to him, tribalistic phenomena. In other words, he decodes grouping in daily life such as social gatherings, classmates, hobby clubs, and job colleagues with the notion of tribe. He contends that it manifests the key feature of daily life.

Maffesoli interprets recent augmentation of tribe as a manifestation of fundamental social change. That is, it displays the weight shift from the hierarchical bureaucratic organization of modernity to tribes and networks of post-modernity, and at the same time the shift from the history of politico-economic big events to the history of daily life experienced by ordinary people. In his theory of tribalism, grassroots organizations, i.e. tribes and networks, rather than rulers are located at the center.

Maffesoli suggests that the social ties of people today lack strong binding, allow secession anytime, and tend to form temporary and tentative communities. He named it tribalism or nomadism. He points out that it prevails among younger generations with new sensibilities. This phenomenon will be, he predicts, more salient.

He anticipates that many groups that have a variety of positions and goals will appear, grow, and disappear in cyberspace. More and more tribal groups will exist. This is nothing but the indication of stronger decentralization in the networked society.

ISSUES CONCERNING NOMADISM

Will nomadism, which has three dimensions of fluidity, deconstruction of borders and decentralization, be the predominant principle of social organization as Attali predicts? If so, particularly in Korea, there cannot be a more important factor than that to help understand daily Korean life today. At least the last several hundred years Koreans have been predominantly sedentary.

A Korean critic who did research on nomad in Mongolia prophesied the rebirth of nomadism as follows:

> At present we leave the long-lasting sedentary civilization, and enter an unfamiliar and new world where we can hardly explain things and events with the existing knowledge, and survive with the existing way of survival. Castle walls that divide the unfortunate and the fortunate are being collapsed again. And that human history is once more headed for an era of the spirit that scuds like the storm, and era of the movement that takes inside of the wind as hometown.

Now all the walls fall down, borders are destroyed, and fixed strongholds of sedentariness disappear in the mist. The desire to live comfortably within one's own castle is no more allowed (Kim, 2005: 344).

This seems to be an assertion that nomadism is not optional but inevitable. It may be a plausible prediction for them who believe that the global economy in its real sense is emerging. In fact, a massive amount of information, commodities, and even people are crossing borders.

In particular, global transactions in cyberspace are rapidly transforming the entire world into a giant network. Online transactions enable people to experience geographical movement without real, physical movement. As Weberman (2002) depicts, people have become spiritual nomads in cyberspace without real sense of place.

This is an irresistible temptation to a large number of people. Cyberspace offers all kinds of attractions such as convenience, speed, excitement, warmness, and comfort. In cyberspace, only with a minimum of cost, time, and effort one can get most of what one may get in the real world.

For this reason, if someone is asked to choose between sedentariness and nomadism in the contemporary sense, s/he is likely to prefer the latter to the former. By the way, in a country like Korea that is highly informatized, nomadism is mainly propelled by information technology. In that sense, nomadism may be called cyber-nomadism: precisely speaking, the choice is between sedentariness and cyber-nomadism.

Is the simple equation of 'from sedentariness to nomadism' valid in Korea?

One may praise nomadism, but s/he must not ignore the power or attractiveness of sedentariness that has been proven time and again in human history, in which Korea is not an exception. Probably Attali's prudent prediction will hold for Korea. That is, Koreans will see some combination of sedentariness and nomadism instead of a simple substitution in the future. This implies that nomadism, which has been repressed, is released while the predominant sedentariness is radically weakened.

So real issues underlying the rebirth of nomadism here may be condensed into two questions: First, is nomadism really reviving in Korea? Second, if so, how are the three dimensions of nomadism configured in Korea?

Now, we have questions that can be empirically delved into. In the

rest of this paper these issues will be analyzed with the recently collected data.

The data used below were collected by banner survey at Daum, one of the largest portals in Korea, between December 7 and 11, and December 17 and 20 in 2005. The valid sample of 1,077 respondents consists of 474 male (44.0%) and 603 female (56.0%).[2]

Nomadism was operationalized for this work as follows: Its dimension of fluidity was measured by asking six questions concerning moving time, Internet-using time, and propensity to travel and social change. Its dimension of deconstruction of borders was measured by asking two questions about sexual relationships and eating patterns. Finally its dimension of decentralization was measured by asking two questions concerning participation in group activities.

EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

Fluidity

1) Korean Society 'on the Move'

As Attali and Lee pinpoints, the key feature of nomadism is travel. Thus, the way to observe the rebirth of nomadism will be above all to see how people experience movement or travel in daily life and then examine their attitude or propensity to it.

As Table 1 shows, 29.6% of respondents move more than three hours per day during weekdays. As many as 13.3% of them move more than five hours. Table 2 informs us that more people move farther on weekends than weekdays. That is, 36.9% of respondents travel more than three hours, and 13.9% of them move more than five hours. The proportion of respondents who travel over five hours remains the same, but those who travel between three and five hour increases by 6.7%.

Presumably people travel mainly due to work on weekdays while they do so mainly for leisure on weekends, but daily trips over three hours is indisputably a long movement. In fact, it is not difficult to turn

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[2] The size of original sample was 1,774. Among the respondents females were seriously overrepresented (about 73%). So, the sample was adjusted to make it close to configuration of the Internet population. Female respondents as many as 603 were randomly drawn from 1,300, while all the male respondents (474) were kept in the sample. Females are still a bit overrepresented in the sample (about 56%). However, it is an acceptable, I think, level of overrepresentation without losing too many respondents.

TABLE 1. DAILY AVERAGE OF MOVING TIME BY AGE (WEEKDAY)

			Age			Total
			20s	30s	40 <	
Moving time (hour)	< 1	Freq.	94	125	45	264
		%	21.1	28.7	22.8	24.5
	1~3	Freq.	207	195	92	494
		%	46.5	44.8	46.7	45.9
	3~5	Freq.	84	59	33	176
		%	18.9	13.6	16.8	16.3
	5 <	Freq.	60	56	27	143
		%	13.5	12.9	13.7	13.3
Total		Freq.	445	435	197	1,077
		%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$L^2 = 0.95$ (df = 1)

* In all the tables below, L^2 is the statistics that indicate the statistical significance of Linear-By-Linear Association of Log-linear Model. It tells existence of linear relationship between variables. And *, ** and *** signify that L^2 is statistically significant at the levels of 0.05, 0.01 and 0.001, respectively.

moving time into moving distance. If we assume that only a negligible proportion of commuters walk (or bike) more than two hours or use boats for commuting, then most of the respondents who answered that they move more than three hours use, we can surmise, a type of motorized vehicle. If one moves by local bus in cities, then a trip of three hours means to move about 90 km calculating an average speed of the bus as 30 km per hour. However, if one takes a subway, train, or highway bus, five hours of movement covers a distance of about 400 km − using an average speed of 80 km per hour. That is, in terms of distance, about thirty percent of respondents on weekdays and forty percent on weekends move between 90 km and 400 km everyday.

It turns out there is no significant difference among age groups in both weekday and weekend movement (see Table 1, Table 2). The result may be interpreted to indicate there will be no big change in the proportion of people who move more than three hours a day in the near future.

TABLE 2. DAILY AVERAGE OF MOVING TIME BY AGE (WEEKEND)

			Age			Total
			20s	30s	40 <	
Moving time (hour)	< 1	Freq.	85	74	48	207
		%	19.1	17.0	24.4	19.2
	1~3	Freq.	195	204	73	472
		%	43-8	46.9	37.1	43.8
	3~5	Freq.	102	99	47	248
		%	22.9	22.8	23.9	23.0
	5 <	Freq.	63	58	29	150
		%	14.2	13.3	14.7	13.9
Total		Freq.	445	435	197	1,077
		%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$L^2 = 0.11$ (df = 1)

TABLE 3. WEEKDAY BY WEEKEND AVERAGE OF MOVING TIME

			Weekend Average Moving Time (hour)				Total
			< 1	1~3	3~5	5 <	
Weekend Average Moving Time (hour)	< 1	Freq.	101	116	34	13	264
		%	9.4	10.8	3.2	1.2	24.5
	1~3	Freq.	87	257	112	38	494
		%	8.1	23.9	10.4	3.5	45.9
	3~5	Freq.	15	63	51	47	176
		%	1.4	5.8	4.7	4.4	16.3
	5<	Freq.	4	36	51	52	143
		%	0.4	3.3	4.7	4.8	13.3
		Freq.	207	472	248	150	1,077
		%	19.2	43.8	23.0	13.9	100.0

$L^2 = 196.06$ (df = 1)***

Table 3 in addition to Table 1 and Table 2 confirms that nomadism exists in terms of geographical mobility. It shows that movement on weekdays positively relates to movement on weekends (L^2 = 196.06, df = 1). In other words, those who make a long trip on weekdays are likely to do so on weekends and vice versa. It indicates that a sizable group of people who have the propensity of high mobility exists in Korea.

We may consider people as nomads who move more than three hours a day all week, whether they move for work or for leisure. Table 3 tells us that 18.6% of respondents belong to this group, which may be called 'geo-nomads.' That is, according to this result one or two out of ten Koreans are, I would say, geo-nomads.[3]

In addition, the findings from the three tables combined indicate that the proportion of geo-nomads among Koreans will change little in the near future. This implies that Korean society has already reached a stable level of nomadism in terms of geographical mobility.

This finding is again confirmed by the analysis of the question about travel.

The proportion of the respondents who do not dislike travel is 91.0%

TABLE 4. PROPENSITY TO TRAVEL BY AGE

			Age			Total
			20s	30s	40s+	
Propensity to Travel	Make time for travel however busy I am	Freq.	68	79	29	176
		%	15.3	18.2	14.7	16.3
	Sometimes initiate travel with family or friends	Freq.	117	80	59	256
		%	26.3	18.4	29.9	23.8
	Travel if chance comes although I myself do not plan it	Freq.	228	229	91	548
		%	51.2	52.6	46.2	50.9
	Prefer rest at home to travel	Freq.	32	47	18	97
		%	7.2	10.8	9.1	9.0
Total		Freq.	445	435	197	1,077
		%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

L^2 = 0.42 (df = 1)

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[3] Whenever findings are generalized, the figure is conservatively estimated and 'Koreans' means 'Koreans over twenty years old' in this paper.

(Table 4). 40.1% of the respondents like travel so much as to initiate travel with others or make time for travel however busy they are. One may ask who in the world dislikes travel, but as far as I know it is a fairly new cultural trend that travel is so popular and so positively considered in Korea.

According to this result, Koreans are nomadic rather than sedentary as far as travel is concerned. In this sense, 30~40% of Koreans are, I would say, 'travel nomads.'[4]

In addition, Table 4 indicates that there is no significant age difference in the propensity to travel. This agrees with the results in the above tables. These results allow one to interpret that Korean society already has a stable level of nomadism in the aspect of mobility.

In an information society, cyber-mobility is no less important than geographical. How much does cyber-mobility take place in Korea?

Table 5 shows that about half the number of respondents use the Internet more than three hours and 27.1% of them use it more than five hours on weekdays. This indicates, one may argue, about 50% of the

TABLE 5. WEEKDAY INTERNET USE BY WEEKEND INTERNET USE PER DAY

			Weekend Internet Use per Day (hour)				Total
			< 1	1~3	3~5	5 <	
Weekday Internet Use per Day (hour)	< 1	Freq.	43	29	9	5	86
		%	4.0	2.7	0.8	0.5	8.0
	1~3	Freq.	110	229	82	15	436
		%	10.2	21.3	7.6	1.4	40.5
	3~5	Freq.	55	75	80	53	263
		%	5.1	7.0	7.4	4.9	24.4
	5 <	Freq.	61	69	55	107	292
		%	5.7	6.4	5.1	9.9	27.1
Total		Freq.	269	402	226	180	1,077
		%	25.0	37.3	21.0	16.7	100.0

$L^2 = 117.95$ (df = 1)***

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[4] Takata (2004) calls modern travelers intelligent nomad who seek wisdom and ideas. He argues that creative production of information accompanied by tour becomes more substantial in present era than before.

Internet users, and about 35% of Koreans as a whole practice cyber-mobility on weekdays whether it is for work or leisure.[5]

On weekends, the proportion of respondents using the Internet over three hours drops to 37.7%, and the proportion of Internet users over five hours goes down to 16.7%. This implies that a sizable number of respondents do other activities instead of using the Internet on weekends. Nonetheless, those who use the Internet a long time on weekdays tend to do the same on weekends (L^2 = 118.00, df = 1). Furthermore, about 27.3% of total respondents use the Internet more than three hours both on weekdays and weekends. Probably, one should take this as a serious level of cyber-mobility. These data indicate, I would say, that about one fourth of total respondents are 'cyber-nomads.' This means that one or two out of ten Koreans may be counted as cyber-nomads.

Then, how fast will the proportion of cyber-nomads grow among Koreans? We again can use the variable of age as a proxy measure of historical period.

In terms of weekday Internet use, salient difference is observed between the group of over-forty and the groups of twenties and thirties

TABLE 6. DAILY AVERAGE OF INTERNET USE BY AGE (WEEKDAY)

			Age			Total
			20s	30s	40s+	
Internet Use (hour)	1 >	Freq.	31	32	23	86
		%	7.0	7.4	11.7	8.0
	1~3	Freq.	173	167	96	436
		%	38.9	38.4	48.7	40.5
	3~5	Freq.	112	106	45	263
		%	25.2	24.4	22.8	24.4
	5 <	Freq.	129	130	33	292
		%	29.0	29.9	16.8	27.1
Total		Freq.	445	435	197	1,077
		%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

L^2 = 10.78 (df = 1)***

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[5] The proportion of Internet users among the whole population is assumed to be 70%.

(Table 6). In the former, 39.6% of respondents use it more than three hours a day, but in the latter about 54% of respondents do.

With regard to weekend Internet use a similar trend is found. That is, the proportion for over forty is 24.4% while 32.9% for thirties and 48.3% for twenties (Table 7).

The age group is just a proxy measure of period. It reflects both era and age effect, so it may not be realistic to predict that Internet users will increase as much as the figures presented above. Even if we count age effect progressively, it will indisputable to predict that the proportion of cyber-nomad among Koreans will increase by a big margin in ten years.

This result is a contrast to that from the analysis of geo-nomad and travel nomad. This indicates, I would argue, that cyber-nomadism is still being formed.

Then, are there any relations between geographical mobility and cyber-mobility? At first thought, one might presume that these kinds of mobility have an inverse relationship because more geographical mobility leaves less room for cyber-mobility, and vice versa. From the perspective of nomadism, the reverse prediction may be suggested. That is, a person of high propensity to mobility is likely to be active in both kinds of movement. Nomads may not be willing to sacrifice one for the

TABLE 7. DAILY AVERAGE OF INTERNET USE BY AGE (WEEKEND)

			Age			Total
			20s	30s	40s+	
Internet Use (hour)	1 >	Freq.	67	136	66	269
		%	15.1	31.3	33.5	25.0
	1~3	Freq.	163	156	83	402
		%	36.6	35.9	42.1	37.3
	3~5	Freq.	109	83	34	226
		%	24.5	19.1	17.3	21.0
	5 <	Freq.	106	60	14	180
		%	23.8	13.8	7.1	16.7
Total		Freq.	445	435	197	1,077
		%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$L^2 = 56.13$ (df = 1)***

other.

Table 8 and Table 9 tells that moving time both on weekdays and weekends positively relates to Internet use. In short, the longer one moves the longer one uses the Internet. This implies that a group of people who travel much in both the real world and the cyberspace is appearing in Korea. In fact, the proportion of the respondents that move and use the Internet more than three hours respectively is 16.3% for a weekday and 15.1% for a weekend. They may be called 'hard-core nomads.' It is estimated that one out of ten Koreans is a hard-core nomad.

Welsch (2005) argues that mobility across the two worlds is a trend in the present world. People became nomad in the psychological rather than geographical sense.

Does the nomadism that is discerned from the analysis of mobility really work as a determining factor in Korea? If it remains merely a construct that has no practical relevance, we have little reason to take the findings above seriously.

Below we will examine how the nomadism works in daily Korean life.

TABLE 8. DAILY AVERAGE OF MOVING TIME BY INTERNET USE (WEEKDAY)

| | | | Daily Average of Internet Use (hour) | | | | Total |
			< 1	1~3	3~5	5 <	
Daily Average of Moving Time (hour)	< 1	Freq.	32	98	65	69	264
		%	3.0	9.1	6.0	6.4	24.5
	1~3	Freq.	32	216	123	123	494
		%	3.0	20.1	11.4	11.4	45.9
	3~5	Freq.	14	75	41	46	176
		%	1.3	7.0	3.8	4.3	16.3
	5 <	Freq.	8	47	34	54	143
		%	0.7	4.4	3.2	5.0	13.3
Total		Freq.	86	436	263	292	1,077
		%	8.0	40.5	24.4	27.1	100.0

$L^2 = 16.52$ (df = 1)**

TABLE 9. DAILY AVERAGE OF MOVING TIME BY INTERNET USE (WEEKEND)

			Daily Average of Internet Use (hour)				Total
			< 1	1~3	3~5	5 <	
Daily Average of Moving Time (hour)	< 1	Freq.	56	83	33	35	207
		%	5.2	7.7	3.1	3.2	19.2
	1~3	Freq.	115	182	106	69	472
		%	10.7	16.9	9.8	6.4	43.8
	3~5	Freq.	66	90	49	43	248
		%	6.1	8.4	4.5	4.0	23.0
	5 <	Freq.	32	47	38	33	150
		%	3.0	4.4	3.5	3.1	13.9
Total		Freq.	269	402	226	180	1,077
		%	25.0	37.3	21.0	16.7	100.0

$L^2 = 4.37$ (df = 1)**

2) Propensity to 'Change'

Continuous social change brings new life chances to people and vitalizes their daily life but at the same time causes constant uncertainty accompanied by insecurity. In a nomadic society, constant challenge, and its accompanying uncertainty, is desired.

Table 10 shows that as many as 40.9% of respondents agree with the statement, "I like a society that is always changing." Only 19.4% of them disagree with it. The proportion might be a bit exaggerated because only Internet users participated in the survey. The propensity to social change is, I would say, amazing.

At least since the Yi-Dynasty was forced to open its door by foreign powers in the late 19th century, Korean society has experienced an endless chain of radical change such as the fall of the Yi-Dynasty, Japanese colonial rule, the Pacific War, national liberation, military rule by the US, division of territory, the Korean War, a military coup, rapid industrialization, despotic regimes, the Kwangju People's Struggle, democratization, rapid informatization and so forth.

It is amazing that the majority of Koreans favor or at least do not avoid social change after all that. One may propose that 'change' became a property of Korean society. This propensity to change is, I

TABLE 10. PROPENSITY TO SOCIAL CHANGE

		Freq.	%
I like a society that is always changing	Strongly Disagree	20	1.9
	Disagree	189	17.5
	Neither agree nor disagree	428	39.7
	Agree	379	35.2
	Strongly agree	61	5.7
Total		1,077	100.0

TABLE 11. NOMADISM AND PROPENSITY TO SOCIAL CHANGE

	Geo-nomad (Weekday)	Geo-nomad (Weekend)	Cyber-nomad (Weekday)	Cyber-nomad (Weekend)	Travel nomad
Propensity to social Change	3.35*	14.61***	5.61**	2.15	17.0***

would say, an unquestionable piece of evidence that nomadism is predominant in Korea.

Do geo-nomads, travel nomads, and cyber-nomads strongly favor change? Table 11 confirms that nomads favor social change with the exception of weekend cyber-nomads.

Deconstruction of Borders: Cultural Openness

With regard to cultural openness, we may analyze sexual relations and eating patterns. Sex and eating are central parts of everyday life.

Food culture is an area that is relatively prone to change. In this cultural area, habit rather than social or religious norms prevail and thereby age effect must be salient. That is, people tend to be liberal when young, while conservative when old.

In contrast, sex life is an area that is relatively closed to external influence. Strong norms prevail in the area and thereby social or era rather than age effect is salient. That is, the norm system, like the religion under which one lives or the era in which one is born affects sex life strongly.

If one examines the propensity in the two areas, one can infer the

TABLE 12. SEXUAL OPENNESS BY AGE

			Age			Total
			20s	30s	40s+	
Hope to have a free man-woman relationship-including sex.	Strongly disagree	Freq.	40	59	30	129
		%	9.0	13.6	15.2	12.0
	Disagree	Freq.	119	153	71	343
		%	26.7	35.2	36.0	31.8
	Neither disagree nor agree	Freq.	122	115	49	286
		%	27.4	26.4	24.9	26.6
	Agree	Freq.	120	88	42	250
		%	27.0	20.2	21.3	23.2
	Strongly agree	Freq.	44	20	5	69
		%	9.9	4.6	2.5	6.4
Total		Freq.	445	435	197	1,077
		%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

L^2 = 25.73 (df = 1)***

overall width and depth of cultural openness.

With regard to the openness of sexual life, there is clear age difference in the proportion of negative responses. It records 35.7% for 20s, 48.8% for 30s and 51.2% for 40s and above. The proportion of strong disagreement runs 9.0%, 13.6% and 15.2% respectively. The proportion of positive response is 36.9% for 20s, 24.8% for 30s and 23.8% for 40s and above. That of strong agreement runs 9.9%, 4.6% and 2.5% for the corresponding age group (Table 12).

The difference is salient between 20s and 30s. This might be a sort of marriage effect. We cannot check it directly since there is no question about the marital status of respondents in the survey. We observe, however, the same trend in Table 13, which reduces the possibility that this is a marriage effect. Then, is it age effect?

With regard to openness of eating patterns, the proportion of the negative response is low regardless of age. 80~90% of respondents can be considered to be liberal. Nonetheless, the proportion of strong agreement is 40.7% for 20s, 23.0% for 30s and 19.8% for 40s and above. We observe again the salient difference between 20s and 30s. This

TABLE 13. OPENNESS OF EATING PATTERNS BY AGE

| | | | Age | | | Total |
			20s	30s	40s	
If chances were given, I would like to try foreign food that is neither Korean nor Chinese.	Strongly disagree	Freq.	6	3	3	12
		%	1.3	0.7	1.5	1.1
	Disagree	Freq.	13	33	8	54
		%	2.9	7.6	4.1	5.0
	Neither disagree nor agree	Freq.	29	37	17	83
		%	6.5	8.5	8.6	7.7
	Agree	Freq.	216	262	130	608
		%	48.5	60.2	66.0	56.5
	Strongly agree	Freq.	181	100	39	320
		%	40.7	23.0	19.8	29.7
Total		Freq.	445	435	197	1,077
		%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$L^2 = 20.54$ (df = 1)***

implies that there is salient cultural boundary between 20s and 30s. In addition, one can infer that the lowest limit of cultural openness resides in sex life while its upper limit is in eating patterns.

Then, can we consider cultural openness as a part of nomadism? To test this projection we examine how it relates to geo-nomads, cyber-nomads and travel nomads.

Table 14 shows that nomadism positively relates to sexual liberalism and to openness of eating patterns with the exception of geo-nomad. That is, the results indicate that the stronger the nomadic orientation is, the higher the cultural liberalism is.[6]

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[6] Racial tolerance was also examined. What we found was that cultural code of race was barely formed in Korea. In other words, any measurement of racial tolerance can hardly have validity and reliability there. In fact, Korean society is still ethnically homogeneous. The proportion of foreign residents is slightly over 1% of total population. Only very few people have experiences with foreign residents. So results of the analysis of racial tolerance are not included in this paper.

TABLE 14. CULTURAL OPENNESS BY NOMADISM

	Geo-nomad (Weekday)	Geo-nomad (Weekend)	Cyber-nomad (Weekday)	Cyber-nomad (Weekend)	Travel nomad
Sexual liberalism	9.61***	16.3***	5.04**	47.07***	19.85***
Openness of eating patterns	0.45	0.60	10.10***	14.89***	3.54**

Decentralization: Tribalism

Decentralization may be examined with the notion of tribalism Maffesoli developed.

To the statement, "Active participation in small groups or online communities for job seeking, school advancement, health, shopping, etc," only 6.7% of respondents reveal a strongly negative position, while as many as 23.4% positively respond (Table 15). This indicates that most respondents obtain information or help for daily life from small groups or online communities. Furthermore, one out of four or five leads such a life actively.

TABLE 15. TRIBALISM WITH PRIVATE MOTIVES BY AGE

			Age			Total
			20s	30s	40s	
Active participation in small groups or online communities for jobs seeking, school advancement, health caring, shopping, etc.	Strongly disagree	Freq.	30	32	10	72
		%	6.7	7.4	5.1	6.7
	Disagree	Freq.	150	167	63	380
		%	33.7	38.4	32.0	35.3
	Neither disagree nor agree	Freq.	148	158	67	373
		%	33.3	36.3	34.0	34.6
	Agree	Freq.	94	70	49	213
		%	21.1	16.1	24.9	19.8
	Strongly agree	Freq.	23	8	8	39
		%	5.2	1.8	4.1	3.6
Total		Freq.	445	435	197	1,077
		%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$L^2 = 0.01$ (df = 1)

TABLE 16. TRIBALISM WITH PUBLIC MOTIVES BY AGE

			Age			Total
			20s	30s	40s	
Join meetings for rights and interests of consumers or the communities that one belongs to?	None	Freq	132	133	43	308
		%	29.7	30.6	21.8	28.6
	Online meeting only	Freq	190	161	55	406
		%	42.7	37.0	27.9	37.7
	Also offline meeting sometimes	Freq	86	101	73	260
		%	19.3	23.2	37.1	24.1
	Willing to join offline meeting	Freq	37	40	26	103
		%	8.3	9.2	13.2	9.6
Total		Freq	445	435	197	1,007
		%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

L^2 = 15.71 (df = 1)***

With only the fact that groups and online communities for private purposes are burgeoning, one cannot conclude that tribalism is reviving the increasing decentralization of power.

So participation in more or less power-related group activities is examined. To the statement, "Join meetings for rights and interests of consumers or the communities that one belongs to," 71.4% of respondents give a positive response (Table 16). This result is somewhat amazingly contrasted to the low level of labor organization and civic organization. If one reads the table carefully, one can find that 37.7% of respondents say they participate in only online meetings. This indicates that tribalism has recently expanded with the advent of cyberspace. If one counts the fact that even offline group activities are often mediated in cyberspace, the recent trend of decentralization may be called cyber-tribalism.

Do our nomads have a strong inclination toward tribalism?

In terms of group activities for private motives, all kinds of nomads consistently reveal a quite strong inclination toward tribalism. As for those for the public motives, the nomads tend to be tribalistic with the exception of cyber-nomads (Table 17). Cyber-nomads are active onlyin online meetings.

TABLE 17. TRIBALISM BY NOMADISM

	Geo-nomad (Weekday)	Geo-nomad (Weekend)	Cyber-nomad (Weekday)	Cyber-nomad (Weekend)	Travel nomad
Tribalism of Private Motives	3.61**	14.39***	5.56**	11.46***	42.69***
Tribalism of Public Motives	8.72***	10.94***	0.08	0.38	7.36***

CONCLUSION

This paper attempted to show the rebirth of nomadism in Korea.

In terms of moving time, i.e. moving distance, Koreans seem to be 'on the move.' Strong propensity to movement and real mobility was empirically confirmed. In addition, the mobility is unfolded in both real space and cyber space.

Tentatively speaking (in the sense that full-scale research is in order), 10~20% of Koreans are geo-nomads, 30~40% travel nomads, 10-20% cyber-nomads, and 10% hard-core nomads. In addition, nomadism is already fully developed in the aspects of geographical movement and travel, while it is still being formed in cyberspace. Cyber-nomadism is anticipated to expand for some time to come.

The strong inclination to change is also confirmed. The absolute majority of Koreans favors change or at least do not resist it. Change seems to be a property of Korean society. This is, I would say, another piece of evidence for the revival of nomadism.

In short, we confirmed, I would insist, the existence of the culture of fluidity that consist of 'mobility' and 'change'.

Evidence for deconstruction of borders is also found. Cultural openness, which is considered the major feature of deconstruction of borders, is fairly high. The data indicate that a lot of Koreans are quite liberal in sex life as well as eating patterns. In addition, the nomadism is proven to relate positively to the openness of sex life and eating culture.

Finally cyber-tribalism, which is presumed to be a part of the nomadism, was found. Decentralization, which is one of three dimensions of nomadism, often appears in the form of tribalism. We ascertained that tribalism has grown rapidly along with the advent of cyberspace. In addition, the data supported that tribalism was a part of nomadism.

If we put the findings together, we may conclude that post-modern nomadism has appeared and became one of the determining factors in culture including daily life in Korea. Further research on nomadism will shed light on social and cultural trends in contemporary Korea.

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